THE LIBERATOR

"COMRADES LET US ALL UNITE."

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LABOR'S LONG STRUGGLE WITH CAPITAL

No. 12.

The winter of 1873-4 is a period marking an epoch in labor's long struggle with capital.

1873 dates the first fearful panic in America. The beginning of this panic was caused by the failure of the banking house of J. Cook & Co. of Philadelphia, Pa. This crash checked business; factories and mills were closed. Thousands of the middle class were swept away in the whirlpol of bankruptcy. Tens of thousands of working people were thrown out of employment and the utmost suffering prevailed. It was at this period that the "tramp" first made his appearance on American soil; no mention was ever made of tramps before this time, and it was a word coined by the capitalist press of that day to designate men out of employment and tramping (not having the means to ride), in search of work.

In the midst of this hard cold winter the sufferings of the masses in New York City were most intense. It was decided to call a mass-meeting of the unemployed to bring to the attention of the public the spectacle of their poverty. They obtained permission from the board of police commissioners to parade the streets and hold a meeting in Tompkins Square on Jan. 13, 1874. But the rich became frightened at the thought of so much evidence of poverty parading in the streets and influenced the board to revoke the permit, so Jan. 12th the revocation was issued by the police board, but it was impossible to notify the scattered army of this kind. At the time appointed for the meeting, the people marched through the gate of Tompkins Square; no policemen or other officers were there to inform them of the order. When the square was completely full of men, women and children, without a moment's warning, the police closed in on them on all sides, and fell upon the defenseless people, beating them unmercifully; the mounted police charged upon them, driving them from the park and down the streets, trampling upon women and children in the most outrageous manner. John Swinton, labor's great champion, although himself not belonging to the working class, took up the cause of the outraged people, and carried their case to the legislature at Albany and appeared before the Grievance Committee. In his report he said: "Never has the Committee on Grievances been asked to investigate any grievance more cruel, flagrant or lamentable—more repugnant to human nature, or more insulting to human misery * * * I pray you to investigate and deal with the matter—and I stand here, not as a hired agent or attorney of any body or any cause but merely as one whose heart has been touched by the wrongs of those who have but few to speak for them, and who on that accomt has been asked to become one of their spokesmen—so deal with it that you may indicate for all time those great constitutional principles which lie at the foundation of our Republic, and by which alone the public welfare can be maintained. I close with the prophetic warning of Longfellow, which, let us hope, may never hereafter be applicable to any wronged or victimized class in our country:

"There is a poor blind Samson in our land,
Shorn of his strength and bound with bonds of steel,
Who may in some grim revel raise his hand
And shake the pillars of the commonweal."
"Gentlemen, we have done."

This infamous outrage was never noticed. The powerful speech of John Swinton and the prayer of the committee went unheeded. The legislature referred it to some committee where it has been sleeping to this day. How different would these lines of history be written if that atrocity had been perpretated upon the rich or well-to-do classes. What rights have the working class anyway which the legislative bodies feel bound to respect?

L. E. P.

THE LAWLESSNESS IN HOLDOM'S COURT.

Who runs the courts of law in Chicago—lawyers for rat printers or the judges?

Judge Holdom sentenced the president of the Typographical Union and another printer to serve thirty days in jail for an alleged violation of his injunction.

The judge ordered the mittimus issued that would make jail birds of two men who had broken no law of the land.

Then Mr. Penny, the lawyer for the prosecutors of the union printers, got the mittimus from the court clerk *and kept it*. Who made a lawyer for the Typothetae a custodian of a court's sentence?

Wright and Bassette will go to jail *when Penny wills it*. Mr. Penny is not a court officer. He is not a judge; he is not a sheriff. He is a lawyer for a band of employing printers. It is charged that Penny will hold the mittimus twenty days. Then he will jail Wright and his fellow defendant and their right of appeal from Holdom's decision will have ended.

Then the right of habeas corpus only will lie.

An appeal would give an unprejudiced and enlightened court a chance to review the evidence on which Wright and his associate were convicted by Holdom.

They were convicted on an affidavit of an ex-jail bird named Titus.

Two printers swore that Titus offered to wreck a print shop for them. They declined the offer and warned the employer of Titus against him.

But in spite of all this Holdom sentenced the president of the local Typographical Union to jail and *leaves the execution of the sentence to Lawyer Penny, who works for the men seeking to destroy the Printers' Union.*

Holdom, as chancellor, cannot try a criminal offense. Since almost a thousand years crimes are tried by jurors. But Holdom *does* pass on a criminal proceeding, and jails for contempt.

This law is worthy only of Holdom, a dirty-shirted cadi or Judge Lynch.

If the printers were a set of slugging cut-throats there might be excuse, but it has come to this that even if men seek to keep the law in a labor controversy they must go to jail if it will enable an employer to beat them.

More than a hundred years ago Holdom's English ancestors made Americans rot in prison ships because they struggled for governmental liberty.

Now comes Holdom with a transplanted and malformed view of the English law, ignorant of the principles of personal liberty which is the soul of the American constitution, and slams men in jail for no other reason than that they are struggling against industrial slavery.

This is the state from which Lincoln went to the Presidency to set the blacks free.

Yet in this state you have a judge who renders a decision that gives a white laboring man less liberty than the negro slave actually enjoyed.

Your abolished African slavery with the bayonet; under the name of the law judges like Holdom are building up a system of white slavery.

The able-bodied male negro on the block brought from $1,000 to $1,500.

If Holdom's law is to be the law of the land, the buying and selling of the laboring man at so much a pound, like cattle on the hoof, is not far distant.—The Chicago American.

THE ANARCHIST SPEECHES

In No. 16 of The Liberator were commenced the publication of the speeches of the Anarchists, delivered in court in Chicago on Oct. 7, 8 and 9, 1887, when asked why sentence of death should not be pronounced upon them. These speeches are their reply. It was their last message to the world and must prove interesting and instructive reading to the most prejudiced as well as the sympathetic. Instructive to the prejudiced-minded, because no person capable of clear reasoning powers can read these speeches and lay them down, and then, allowing the innermost recesses of his heart to speak, he must say, "Those men were innocent of the crime for which they suffered death." They were victims of class hatred.

ALBERT R. PARSONS' SPEECH.

(Continued from last week.)

But your honor says: "Oh, well, Parsons, your own language, your own words, your own statements at these meetings — what you said." Well, possibly I have said some foolish things. Who has not? As a public speaker probably I have uttered some wild and possibly incoherent assertions. Who, as a public speaker, has not done so? Now, consider for a moment. Suppose, as is now the case with me, here I see others rolling in luxury and wealth and opulence, out of the unpaid-for labor of the laborers. I am conscious of this fact. I see the streets of Chicago, as was the case last winter, filled with 30,000 men in compulsory idleness; destitution, misery and want upon every hand. I see this thing. Then on the other hand I see the First Regiment out in a street-riot drill, and reading the papers the next morning describing the affair, I am told by the editor of the capitalistic newspaper that the First Regiment is out practicing a street-riot drill for the purpose of mowing down these wretches when they come out of their holes that the prosecution talks about here in this case; that the working people are to be slaughtered in cold blood, and that men are drilling upon the streets of the cities of America to butcher their fellowmen when they demand the right to work and partake of the fruits of their labor. Seeing these things, overwhelmed as it were with indignation and pity, my heart speaks. May I not say some things then that I would not in cooler moments? Are not such outrageous things calculated to arouse the bitterest denunciations?

Your honor, I want to call your attention to some of the reasons which I propose here today to offer in justification of the words and utterances, and the acts, whatever they may have been, of myself, or my colleagues, on the question of force, on the question of arms, and on the question of dynamite. Now going back to 1877, what do we find? The railroad strikes occurred. During the conflict of that year the following utterances were made by heavy employers and manufacturers and monopolists in this country. I will give you a few samples. This, mark you, is published in the *Alarm* of November 8, 1884, but the same extracts have been kept standing in the labor papers, published by the Knights of Labor, the Trades Unions, and the Socialists of the United States, there being somewhere over three hundred of these papers. Now listen: "Give them (the strikers) a rifle diet for a few days, and see how they like that kind of bread," said Tom Scott, president of the Pennsylvania Central Railway, addressing Gov. Hartranft of Pennsylvania, and calling upon him to send his army of militiamen to Pittsburg, to put down his railroad strikers, who were asking for a little more pay, and some of them asking for pay enough to get their hungry children bread. His answer is, "Give them a rifle diet for a few days and see how they like that kind of bread." Mark you, this was in 1877. "If the workingmen had no vote they might be more amenable to the teachings of the times," says the Indianapolis *News*. "There is too much freedom in this country instead of too little," says the Indianapolis *Journal*. In 1878, the New York *Tribune*, in an editorial upon strikes, used these words: "These brutal strikers or creatures can understand no other meaning than that of force, and ought to have enough of it to be remembered among them for many generations." "Hand grenades should be thrown among these Union sailors who are striving to obtain higher wages and less hours. By such treatment they would be taught a valuable lesson, and other strikers could take warning from their fate," said the Chicago *Times*. "It is very well to relieve real distress wherever it exists, whether in the city or in the country, but the best meal that can be given a ragged tramp is a leaden one, and it should be supplied in sufficient quantities to satisfy the most voracious appetite," New York *Herald*, 1878. "The American laborer must make up his mind to be not so much better off than the European laborer. He must be contented to work for less wages and must be satisfied with that station in life to which it has pleased God to call him." The New York *World* uttered these sentiments in 1878. I could go through the whole gamut of the monopolistic press of America and show similar expressions of sentiment. These sentiments were used against strikers, against men who were simply seeking to improve their condition. They only asked for less hours of labor and for increased pay. These are the bloody, bitter words of these papers. Now, what follows? It is the experience nowadays and has been since that time, when workingmen strike, to call out the militia. That has been the practice since these utterances and declarations in 1878, growing out of the great railroad strike. It has become the custom in America to call out the militia if there is a strike, or even if there is one contemplated. Why, look at the packing houses in the city of Chicago. Only yesterday the packing house bosses, who employ 25,000 men, called for an army of Pinkerton men to go down there, and advertised for them to come. That was before there was a strike—in mere contemplation of it, your honor. This is in America—the United States! Why, is it surprising that the working people should feel indignant about these things and say to Mr. Gould or to Tom Scott: "If you are going to give us a rifle diet instead of a bread diet, as was asked of Christ, when we ask you for bread you give us a stone, and not only give us a stone, but at the point of the bayonet compel us to swallow it, where is the constitutional right of resistance to these outrages?" If I am to be deprived of my rights of defense against the administration of a rifle diet, and strychnine put upon my bread and food, which was advocated by the Chicago *Tribune* when it said that, when tramps come around in the neighborhood, give them a slice of bread with strychnine upon it, and other tramps will take warning and keep out of the neighborhood; if I am to be deprived of my right, what shall I do? Are not such expressions as his calculated to exasperate men? Is there no justification for these what you denominate violent speeches? Did not these monopolists bring about the inception of this language? Did they not originate it? Were they not the first to say: "Throw dynamite bombs among the strikers, and thereby make a warning to others?" Was it not Tom Scott who first said, "Give them strychnine?" And they have done it. Since that time they have administered a rifle diet; they have administered strychnine. They have thrown hand grenades, and the hand grenade upon the Haymarket on the night of the 4th of May was thrown by the hand of a monopolist conspirator sent from the city of New York for that specific purpose, to break up the eight hour movement and bring these men to the gallows in this court. Your honor, we are the victims of the foulest and blackest conspiracy that ever disgraced the annals of time. If these men will preach these things; if the *Tribune* thinks that strychnine is good enough for us; if the *Times* thinks that hand grenades are good enough for us, why have we not got a right to say they will use it? They say they believe in it. They say they think it. What right have we to say that they will not hire some mercenary to carry out what they think, and put into practice that which they believe?

In this connection I want to call your attention to the way armed men, militiamen and Pinkerton's private army are used against workingmen, strikers; the way they are used to shoot them, to arrest them, to put up jobs on them and carry them out. In the *Alarm* of Oct. 17, 1885, there is printed the following: "Pinkerton's Army. They issue a Secret Circular Offering Their Services to Capitalists for the Suppression of Strikers. The secretary of the Minneapolis, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly sends us the following note: Minneapolis, Minn., Oct. 6, 1885. Editor of the *Alarm*. Dear Sir: Please pay your respects to the Pinkerton pups for their extreme kindness to labor. Try to have the government of your city do away with its metropolitan police and employ Pinkerton protectors." (Of course this is sarcastic.) "The inclosed circular fell into the hands of the Minneapolis Trades Assembly, which thought it not out of place to pass it around. Please insert it in your paper. Yours fraternally, T. W. Brosnan." That letter is under the seal of the Trade and Labor Assembly of the city of Minneapolis, Minn. Then follows the circular. Then, after referring to the services rendered the capitalists, corporations, and monopolists during the strikes in all parts of the country during the past year, the circular closes with the following paragraphs, which we give in full as illustrative of the designs of these secret enemies upon organized labor. Let every workingman ponder over the avowed purposes of these armies of thugs. It says: "The Pinkerton Protective Patrol is connected with Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, and is under the same management. Corporations or individuals desirous of ascertaining the feelings of their employes, whether they are likely to engage in strikes or are joining any secret labor organizations, such as the Knights of Labor, with a view of compelling terms from corporations or employers, can obtain upon application to the superintendent of either of the offices a detective suitable to associate with their employes and obtain this information." This circular continues: "At this time, when there is so much dissatisfaction among the labor classes, and secret labor societies are organizing throughout the United States, we suggest whether it would not be well for railroad companies and other corporations, as well as individuals who are extensive employers, to keep a close watch for designing men among their own employes, who, in the interest of secret labor societies, are influencing their employees to join these organizations and eventually cause a strike. It is frequently the case that, by taking a matter of this kind in time, and discovering the ring-leaders, and dealing promptly with them"—"discovering the ring-leaders," mark you, "and dealing promptly with them, serious trouble may be avoided in the future. Yours respectfully, William A. Pinkerton, General Superintendent Western Agency, Chicago; Robert A. Pinkerton, General Superintendent Eastern Division, New York.

Now, here is a concern, an institution which organizes a private army. This private army is at the command and control of those who grind the faces of the poor, who keep wages down to the starvation point. This private army can be shipped to the place where they are wanted. Now it goes to the Hocking Valley to subjugate the starving miners; then it is carried across the plains to Nebraska to shoot the striking miners in that region. Then it is carried to the east to stop the strike of the factory operatives and put them down. The army moves about to and fro all over the country, sneaks into the labor organizations, worms itself into these labor societies, finds out, as it says, who the ring-leaders are and deals promptly with them. "Promptly," your honor, "with them." Now, what does that mean? It means this: that some workingman who has got the spirit of a man in his organization, who gets up and speaks out his sentiments, protests, you know, objects, won't have it, don't like these indignities and says so, is set down as a ring-leader, and these spies go to work and put up a job on him. If they cannot aggravate him and make him, as the New York *Tribune* says, violate the law so they can get hold of him, and concoct a conspiracy that will bring him into court. When he is brought into court he is a wage slave; he has no friends, he has got no money—who is he? Why, he stands here at the bar like a culprit. He has neither position, wealth, honor, nor friends to defend him. What is the result? Why, sixty days at the Bridewell or a year in the county jail. The matter is dismissed with a wave of the hand. The bailiff carries the ring-leader out. The strike is suppressed. Monopoly triumphs and the Pinkertons have performed the work for which they receive their pay. Now, it was these things that caused the American Group to take an exceeding interest in this manner of treatment on the part of the corporations and monopolies of the country, and we became indignant about it. We exposutalted, we denounced it. Could we do otherwise? We are a part and parcel of the miseries brought about by this condition of things. Could we do otherwise thon expostulate and object to it and resent it? Now, to illustrate what we did, I will read to you from the *Alarm*, December 12, 1885, the proceedings of the American Group, of which I was a member, as a sample. I being present at that meeting, and that meeting being reported in this paper. I hold that this report of the meeting, being put into the *Alarm* at that time, is worthy of your credence and respect, as showing what our attitude was upon the question of force of arms and of dynamite. The article is headed "Street Riot Drill. Mass Meeting of Workign People Held at 106 East Randolph Street." This was the regular hall and place of meeting. The article reads: "A large mass meeting of workingmen and women was held by the American Group of the International last Wednesday evening at their hall, 106 East Randolph street. The subject under discussion was the street-riot drill of the First Regiment on Thanksgiving day. William Holmes presided. The principal speaker of the evening was Mrs. Lucy E. Parsons. She began by saying that the founders of this republic, whose motto was that ev-

(Continued on Page 3.)

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ANARCHISM.

WE ARE told that the word Anarchy needs constant explanation, that whenever used in its literal sense it must be defined. Is there any other word of which this is not true? The introduction of new ideas into a man's mind is not accompanied by the use of a specially coined word, but by the adaptation of old words to broader uses. Even the word self-government would not convey our meaning in its broadest generalization. This word has been understood since its introduction into general use to mean a system of representative government; the delegation of personal rights to be represented by another person deemed to be the higest approach of liberty possible in a state. In seeking the establishment not of a system of government, but of the greater extension of liberty, the use of this word would be far more objectionable than the word Anarchy; and this because it would carry with it a recognition of government and the necessity of political action. Earl Derby boasted when premier in the house of lords of the English "principles of popular government".

Every instance in which Americans use the word, it carries with it the idea of representation as well as administration. States in the union by their "residuary rights" possess self-government, and individuals enjoy the fullest self-government, the trouble is liberty has not yet acquired a substantive, tutalage of past ages has not been outgrown so largely but that the halo of authority still lingers around all our words.

Nevertheless humanity is tending always more and more toward individualism, that is toward real self-government, which is the only true, just and sane government.

Today we are passing out of political into economic problems over which the state has no influence, being the creatuge of existing economic conditions; hence, a word is needed which, while not condemning administration, will unequivocally express oppression to political government. The old bottles answered to hold the old wine of politics. Economic questions, not being solvable by political methods; demand new bottles for the new ideas time evolves. Government is stationary, social growth is progressive; consequently we find ourselves arrived at a point where governments become a barrier to economic progress. True, this position is a reversal of the common accepted belief which is that government is a help to progress, but a close study of the origin, tendency and operations of *all* governments will show that they never lead, progress. Governments always stand for the "established order of things."

Hence, we use the word Anarchy, the negative of government, and will retain it when the political state has merged into the social commonwealth.

L. E. P.

OUR SOCIAL.

NOW, REMEMBER, that Saturday night, Feb. 3rd, '06, you have some where to go. Where is that? Why to THE LIBERATOR Social and Dance. Why, I wouldn't miss that for a Pretty. Where is that going to be? Corner 14th St. and Solon Place. You can reach it by 14th St., Blue Island Ave., and Centre Ave. cars; walking distance of 12th St. car. THE LIBERATOR people know how to do things right, therefore you can enjoy yourself. They have *first-class* music to dance by; they have singing, declamations, etc., and then they will give you intellectual enjoyment by speeches to be delivered in Jewish and English. And all that they give you for 15 cents; that's all they charge for a ticket, and above all you help THE LIBERATOR too, which is the only paper of its kind in the English language, and if you have never read it, then send in your name and you will get a sample copy, then you will become a regular reader of it.

E. G.

PRESIDENT WRIGHT and Business Agent Bassette have been sentenced to jail for contempt of court, for a term of 30 days. The injunction and contempt proceeding is the handiest weapon the bosses have yet discovered, and, oh, so easy, inexpensive and effective. The employers own the Judge, the Judge issues the injunction, its provisions are absurd, tyrannical and unjust to the last degree, but the worker must either obey, or refusing, is sent to prison without a trial by jury—and this is called justice. And this America!

IF EACH reader of THE LIBERATOR will send in names of acquaintances to whom we can send sample copies, they would do us a great favor and at the same time help build up a subscription list. Send in the names.

SAM GOMPERS carried a chip around on his shoulder while in Chicago, and dared Judge Holdom to knock it off, but Holdom somehow failed to see the joke.

UNION MEN ORDERED TO JAIL FOR 30 DAYS.

Holdom Also Fines Typographical 16 $1,000 for Violating Injunction.

Typographical Union No. 16 was today fined and two of its chief officers sentenced to serve jail sentences of thirty days each for violating the injunction issued by Judge Jesse Holdom in behalf of the Chicago Typothetae. The fines levied aggregate $1,150. The defendant union, which has borne the reputation of being the most conservative and peaceful of all labor organizations in Chicago, had last Monday been declared guilty of the court's injunctional order against picketing.

Judge Holdom pronounced sentence as follows:

Typographical union, fine of $1,000.

Edwin R. Wright, president, fine of $100 and imprisonment in the county jail for thirty days.

Edward E. Bassette, captain of striking pickets, fine of $50 and imprisonment in the county jail for thirty days.

The union will appeal to the Appellate court, which already has under consideration the question of the validity of the injunction issued last October, Attorney William Barnum, representing the labor body, and also Wright and Bassette, who were named as respondents in contempt proceedings brought by the Typothetae, announced that his clients would file an appeal bond. This was fixed at $1,500 for the union and $1,000 each for Wright and Bassette.

In announcing his decision Judge Holdom said:

"It cannot be tolerated that any class, condition or combination of men can show their hostility to this court and flout its judgment and in open meeting express their contempt for the order and the judge, who was merely the instrument of the law, as has been shown to have been done in this case. It is always my desire to temper justice with mercy. It is not a question whether the injunction is right or wrong. That will be decided by the upper court, but while it is in force and effect it must be obeyed. In this case it has not been a mere technical violation of the injunction, but a persistent one and an utter disregard for the order of the court. If this court cannot be upheld then government is a failure and a mere sham."

The court deplored that a body of men like printers, who, he said, were those whose business it is to put before the whole people of the land the thoughts that should mold public opinion, should be in the position of attacking the court's order. "but," he added, "there has been a persistent tendency on the part of these unionists to violate the injunction."

He concluded by saying that the men had a right to organize and then proceeded to pronounce judgment upon respondents.

The decision occasioned no surprise to President Wright or Bassette. They immediately consulted with their counsel to arrange for filing appeal bonds. Pending the perfection of bonds the old bonds will remain in effect, permitting the defendants to enjoy their liberty.

Judge Holdom's courtroom was crowded with labor leaders and members of the Typothetae. Among them were President A. S. Barnes of the Typothetae and John C. Harding, member of the board of education and organizer for the enjoined union.

Judge Holdom's reference to "flouting" at his decrees in public meeting was taken by the attorneys to refer to a speech made by Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, the central organization of trades unionism in the United States, before a meeting of striking printers of Typographical union No. 16, at Bricklayers' Hall.

President Gompers said:

"The utterance of Judge Holdom against the leaders of the striking printers was one of the most contemptible ever issued from the judicial bench."

This remark was called forth by the assertion of the court in his original decision that suspicion attached to President Wright in connection with a supposed conspiracy to wreck the plant of M. A. Donohue & Co. The opinion of the court was based upon the affidavit of Peter P. Titus, a strike breaker. Judge Holdom in the proceedings preliminary to the sentencing of the respondents today refused to allow Judge Barnum to file an affidavit signed by McDermot, the striker who took Titus to the Typographical union headquarters, and in which McDermot avers was an ex-convict, having served a term in the New York state reformatory.

Attorney Bornum protested that if credence were to be given to the statements of Titus in measuring the character of President Wright the court should take cognizance of his, Titus', character. However, Attorney Barnum was permitted to file affidavits of sixty members of the union who swore they had never been instructed to violate the provisions of the injunction and knew of no violence in connection with the strike.

UNAPPRECIATED.

Jimmy is at the age where the form pales before the substance. At the last party he went to, the principal dainty of the supper was delicate creamed chicken served in prety frilled paper cases. On his return he was put through the usual catechism.

"And what did you have to eat?"

"Huh! nothin' but hash in candle-shades."—Harper's Magazine.

A certain gentleman, on being asked to subscribe toward sending out a missionary to one of the cannibal islands of the Pacific, is reported to have answered, in the most discouraging manner: "Certainly not. I am a vegetarian."—Ex.

GOOD LOGIC.

Johnny—"August, do you go to Sunday School?"

August—"No."

Johnny—"Oh, August, you ought to go to Sunday School."

August—"Why."

Johnny—"Because God will be angry and put you in hell for not going."

August—"Where is God?"

Johnny—"God is everywhere."

August—"If God is everywhere, He is in hell too."

There are 609 labor unions in England with a total membership of 1,905,116, and of this number 122,644 are women.

MAXIME GORKY.

From various sides I received letters written in a groaning and hysterical tone. The anguish of darkest dread emanate from its pages. You can distinctly perceive that torturing thoughts tear their hearts in pieces and disturb their sleep.

"What has happened to this good Russian people? Why was he suddenly transformed into a bloody brute?" asks a lady who wrote me an epistle on a magnificently perfumed paper.

"Christ and His Gospel, the doctrine of Love, is trodden under foot. There is no more respect for the neighbor," announces mournfully Mr. F—, member of Soum's nobility. "And," inquires he," are you so satisfied?"

"Where are the Gospel's fruits of neighbor's Love? Where does the influence of the school and the church manifest itself?", questions Mr. De Brootzin de Fombot.

While some have but words of insult and of threat on lips, others are lamenting of them, but all are disturbed, all are oppressed by painful feelings, all esteem that existence becomes insufferable among those great tragical days.

I cannot answer in detail to each one of them; I will make it for all at once.

* * *

The days of reprisals have come, sirs, the days when you are obliged to pay for your criminal indifference to the life of the people. All that disquiets you, all what you think about, you did merit it. I only can say and wish to you one thing: it is that you understand that you live more deeply yet, with yet more strength, the whole horror of these circumstances which yourselves have created. Let your hearts be frozen by the fright; let the night-mares oppress your sleep; let all the cruelties, all the mad deeds which are just perpetrated in our country burn you as fire; you are worth of that all. You should perish with that anguish—or perhaps the mud and the nullity which fill your soul with falsehood, with pride, with greediness; shall they be swept off and will only stay in you the healthy and clean parts.

And you, madam, you wish to know what occurred to People? He simply left patience. During a long, long time, he was subject to the violence, he has upholden your existences by his toil, of resigned slave. But he reached the end of its strength. He, however, is yet far from being free of the heavy burden with which he was crushed. You took too quickly fright, madam!

(And, since we talk with most sincerity, why People could he not be a *brute?* What did you do in the view he was not so? Did you teach him reasonable things? Did you sow his soul with the good grain?)

You continually robbed him of his work, of his last bit of bread; you have spoiled him ingenuously, carelessly, without trying to examine your proper deeds. You lived without caring about who did you live? You have soured the poor and the starving by the richness of your sets; in the fields, you look the 11 manjiks, as creatures of a lower race. And they understand that! They are enough sensitive and not too much wicked; you however have reached to anger them. And it is the most simply, when you glut yourselves under the eyes of the distressing, you certainly cannot expect to see them to become grateful; neither your songs, nor your music could satiate he who is hungry; neither your disdainful manners, nor your condescension could give birth to esteem for you in the mind if the peasant. What have you done for him? Did you endeavor to inculcate in him sweeter feelings? On the contrary, you have made him harder. Did you desire he could be more intelligent? You never thought of the means to develop him. The "monjik" was for you only a beast of burden; you sometimes were amused with him as with a wild beast; you never considered him as a man. Is it really wonderful if he acts with you as a brute?

(Not only, Madam, your question proves that you are unacquainted with the life, but it also contains the hypocrisy of the guilty which is conscious he has sinned but it also contains the hypocrisy of the guilty which is conscious he has sinned but not yet will frankly avow it. You know, Madam, you did not unknow what kind of life is that of the "monjik". He is beaten, must sooner or later revenge. He for whom they never took pity nor shall either take pity, it is natural—or, what is worse—it is right.

Hear me, please; what is terrible, it is not that the peasant unpityfully strikes, it is that it can impossibly be otherwise. How can you hope to find the compassion in a heart where you sowed the hate? At Kien, the good Russian people threw a school-mistress out of the window of Brodsky's House and carfully spared a canary in its cage. Think of that! A little yellow bird excited something like compassion, while a human creature was thrown down in the street. Some humanity is therefore in the People but the Man seems not to be worthy of it! There are the horror and the tragedy! Are you sure, madam, that you have a right to be treated as a human creature, since during all your life you have had no compassion, no pity for others which you did not consider as being equal to you?

You are instructed, you can write letters; doubtless you have read books describing the "monjik's" life. What do you therefore require from him, since knowing his manner of living, you did not try to make it better? And now, it is he who has transformed your existence into worse; it is he who obliges you to write with a trembling hand desperate letters to a man who—you should know that—will do nothing to dispel your dreads, who will not tranquilize you—on the contrary!

Natural are the reprisals. We live in a country where, yet at the present hour, people are beaten with rods, are knocked down up to death, are mutilated, are struck on the face for mere pastime, where the violence has not limits, where the kinds of tortures are revolting and ignoble in their diversity. The People, brought up in a school which seems to be a bad reproduction of the torturing hell; the People, educated with blows, ashes and "knout," cannot be sweet. A man who has been trodden under foot in a police-house, becomes by the same way, able to tread under foot his fellow-creature. In a country where the arbitrary reigns from so many centuries, it is difficult for the people to understand in an instant the greatness of the justice; it is impossible to request him to be equitable, since he never saw the equity to be practised. That thing, you must admit it; it is so simple and so terrible. Everything is normal under a form of government where the society and you, Madam, have tolerated without one protestation, all the horror of the others enslaving.

Men, at the present day, understand better, and the oblique glance you darted this morning on your chamber-maid, is equivalent to the slap your father gave, fifty years ago, in his lackey's face. People grow and the feeling of dignity grows into them; and however, you persevere in treating them as slaves, and what is bestial in them does not disappear.

Do not require of those men, Madam, what you did not give to them. You have no right to the pity, since you not much know it. Everyone has got and gets at the present the least particle of power on the People torments or has tormented him. And now, when an incapable government has brought the country to the chaos, all the dark forces of the nation have felt how much was illusive that power which oppressed them; they have risen and they revenge of all what they endured during the long night of injustice.

There is however in the country apother strength, a luminous strength, which is guided by a great idea, by the sublime dream of the reign of the Justice, of the Liberty, of Beauty. But, Madam, it is impossible to me to make a blind-born conceive the beauty and the majesty of the sea.

They who speak and write on the neighbor's Love always have deeply disgusted me; they are hypocrites and liars. I too much know the life to believe in them. Ah, sirs! have now the courage to be truthful; that is indeed so simple and so comprehensible! When you speak of Love, it is solely to pacify your neighbor which is hungry, which suffers; it seems to you that when you touch to the heart of the angry and of the oppressed you can avoid their right veneance. You lie when you call brothers those which you did enslave; you lie when you preach the Gospel of Love to men in the mind of which yourselves have sowed the enviousness, the hate and the fury. You evidently are sincere when you counsel to your neighbor to love you. But you dissemble behind these words other clearer words: "Support patiently, without neither a revolt, nor a murmur, the heavy burden of work, of abasement, of distress with which we loaded your shoulders." But you impudently lie when you say to your slaves you love them. To love them is impossible. You can only despise or fear them. And you teach Love to your slaves because you fear them!

The Gospel, you say? From a long while the oppressors have siezed it; its truths, the hypocrites have wiped them out; and you however engross it as an instrument to defend yourselves against the instalment of the justice, which on account of your falsehess, of your hypocrisy, has taken on dreadful shapes!

No love is in your heart, but only three loads which jealously guard your drowsy quiet and the supineness of your soul against every intrusion of the cruel truth of the life or of the creator feeling; they are in your hearts three watch-dogs—the Cupidity, the Commonplaceness, the Lie.

And you have not much deference for the neighbor; from which manner could you have some since you don't respect yourselves?

I do not justify the cruelty, of which you made a law of the life. I only say that, in a country where Injustice and Arbitrariness were tolerated as you did—that, in our unfortunate country — there is among you all not an upright man, not a sole person which be worth of pity!

MAXIME GORKY.

December, 1905.

Translated by M. Franssen.

(We are exceedingly sorry that this article has such a poor translation. There is such a charm about Gorky's writings. The grammar of the article is poor, the construction hardly makes sense, to reconstruct the article was practically impossible. We didn't like to reject it, but in future translations must be more correct or they will be rejected.—Editor.)

SPARKS.

Don't trust to luck — organize.

* * *

The sun shines for all where it is not monopolized.

* * *

The key to success is not the night key.

* * *

Self-sacrifice doesn't mean sacrifice for self.

* * *

A life is to be known more by its outgo than by its income.

* * *

Better find one of your own faults than ten of your neighbors.

* * *

Men may come and men may go, but the great movement for more liberty goes on forever.

* * *

If you can do nothing else in this world, keep out of the way of the fellow who is trying to do something.

* * *

The divine rights of kings and the stolen rights of bosses do tumbling down together.

* * *

The Czar of Russia has decided to grant the Russian everything he can't prevent them taking.

* * *

The cry for justice provokes a bitter indignation in quarters where the plea for charity evokes a ready response.

* * *

The success of any civilization is to be measured by the comfort of its workers, not by the affluence of its drones.

* * *

There are two reasons why some people don't mind their own business. First, some have no mind; second, some have no business.

* * *

More protection for labor was the keynote of the Internation Association of Factory Inspectors of North America, which was held recently in Detroit, Mich.

MY IDEAL OF AN ANARCHISTIC STATE.

CONCLUSION.

When the light does dawn upon the 'masses,' they will sweep all forms of governments, as at present instituted, from the face of the earth.

A government (based upon the protection of proerty-rights which allows the crime of unlimited accumulation by a few at the expense of the many) may be defined as a combination of (generally) unscrupulous and mercenary men in a town, state or nation for purposes of self-aggrandisement, to raise themselves upon the multitude and rule them with a more or less despotic will. With this object in view all manner of means for enforcing their arbitrary demands were invented and collected; laws were formulated to hold the people in subjection; their intellects were stunted by the introduction and propagation of every conceivable form of superstition (by drawing their attention to fictitious devils in other worlds, it was supposed that the masses would pay less attention to the devils — their masters, in this;) statecraft united with priestcraft to victimize the deluded people; that infernal vice, *greed*, a heritage of our brute ancestors, was fostered by the enforcement of property-rights, and with this enforcement tyranny and crime in all its hideous phases became rampant. That is what our various systems of government have accomplished for mankind! Can they be regarded as anything but a curse to humanity? A cyrse even to the rulers themselves?

With the damnable *right of accumulation* abolished, peace and good will to all men would reign supreme on earth! God or Nature (call it what you will) has provided for all with a lavish hand. All could enjoy their life in peace and plenty but for this monstrous relic of barbarism wherein the strongest ever sought to impose their authority upon their weaker fellow-men. And through the indiscrimate accumulation of property were their nefarious purposes accomplished just as they are today. How true, therefore, are Proudlon's memorable words: "PROPERTY IS ROBBERY! *Robbery*, because it despoils the weaker or less fortunate ones in the struggles for existence of the necessities of life! ROBBERY, because *avarice* is at the bottom of the unlimited and unrestrained acquisition of property! ROBBERY, because under the present systems of government property is acquired "by hook and by crook," whether legalized or not, any way to get it, though the fleeced people have to starve for it! That's what our vaunted "civilization" (?) has accomplished with its basic principle. "Everyone for himself in the universal grab for pelf and the devil take the hindmost!" And the *devil of Greed* has taken the hindmost; that is, those who willingly allow themselves to be robbed by the ruling class, if "devil" is a symbol of mysery, want and desolation! I say, *damn* such a "civilization"!!! It's a hollow mockery! A disprace to mankind! A delusion and a snare! And all these human woes are due to the damnable privilege of accumulation! Abolish it and we will have a Paradise on Earth!

Hence the spirit of Proudlon's words breathes the noblest sentiments, expresses the loftiest thoughts a human soul is capable of. It would abrogate property as such that all may equally enjoy the bounties which are within the easy reach of every one, or would be for the mere asking in a state of Anarchy, for Nature's stores are inexhaustible, a superabundance being provided for all—for man and beast alike.

Think of the vast tilled and untilled lands now withheld by governments from the needy, or by their rapacious individual owners who are unable to utilize them for themselves! Why should one man have a greater right to land than another? If all men were allowed to equally share in them the Millenium would almost be in sight—yes, at hand! Everyone free to raise all his heart desires! What more can he, would he, ask? In the equitable division of land lies the main solution of the problem. The tillers of the soil would supply the dwellers in cities with the necessities of life, and would in return receive from them the products of Art to keep them in comfort and luxury! Yet these boons are kept from the people by their rulers, their masters, their *owners*, the governmental class, the capitalists, the money-mongers, the financiers of the world, the "GREEDY-GUTS" to whom the gullible and victimized masses submit, allowing themselves to be fleeced and impoverished by the murderers of the would-be saviours of mankind — our *martyred comrades*, PARSONS, SPIES, LINGG, FISHER, ENGLE! Are we a lot of lunatics to inflict and submit to such senseless outrages? Verily it would seem so, but this lunacy is nothing but the outgrowth of the greed which characterizes the brute creation. When will the masses awaken from their lethargy and assert their God-given rights to Nature's bounties in tones no one dares to disregard!

Socialism permits the unrestrained right of accumulation, which gives one man or set of men the power to raise themselves above the masses, and would, threfore, be little, if any, improvement over the present systems of government. The source of all corruption—money or its equivalent—would soon create the same, turmoil and confusion as exists everywhere now.

Future generations, in reading the history of by-gone ages, will say: That was a terrible experience our forefathers have had with that infernal invention called "*money*"! Fairly drenched the soil with human blood on account of it!

But most important of all, under an Anarchistic society women will not sell their virtue for a mess of pottage. They would not link themselves to men they do not love for the sake of obtaining a livelihood, and with this evil abolished the most fruitful source of unhappy marriages would disappear. Being unhampered by sordid considerations, knowing that, in all events, their wants would be supplied, they will be free to exercise their best judgment as to who shall be the father of their children—a right now denied to those unfortunate ones who are united to men unworthy of, or uncongenial to, them. Thus one of the most important steps will have been taken towards advancement of our race.

Hence I say that it is only because the people are kept in ignorance of the aims and objects of Anarchism (self-government) by their mercenary rulers and masters who hold them in subjection through the gross misrepresentations of a servile press, that the organized hordes of Capitalism are enabled to continue to dominate and desolate the world.

If the masses could be made to understand the simple principle involved in one short day, Anarchism would be instantly established, and without resorting to any violence whatever. They would be at once masters of the situation by saying to their former "bosses": Here is your share of Nature's bounties and of all that Art has supplied, and there is ours. Each one is entitled to so much and no more. Now go your way and we go ours! And all will rejoice that this thing was brought about! The solution of the social and economic problems, as well as the practical application of the new rules and regulations adopted, was "as easy as rolling off a log."

But alas, that monster GREED, that accursed heritage of Man, bars the way to such a "consummation devoutly to be wished"! GREED, with its "dog-in-the-manger" disposition denying to others what it cannot consume itself! GREED, which lets the masses starve while it hoards its unholy possessions! GREED, which has drenched the earth with human gore, and will again and again until its debased offsprings, Property and Money, will forever cease to blight the happiness of mankind. H. W.

LOOK OUT FOR BLUE PENCIL MARK.

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ALBERT PARSON'S SPEECH.

(Continued from Page 1.)

ery human being was by nature entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, would turn in their graves if they could read and know that a great street-riot drill was now being practiced in times of peace. 'Let us,' said she, 'examine into this matter and ascertain, if we can, what this street-riot drill of the military is for. Certainly not for the purpose of fighting enemies from without; not for a foreign foe, for if this was the case we would be massing our armies on the sea-coast. Then it must be for our enemies within. Now, then, do a contented, prosperous, and happy people leave their avocations and go out upon the streets to riot? Do young men and maidens who are marrying and given in marriage forsake the peaceful paths of life to become a riotous mob? Then who is this street-riot drill for? For whom is it intended? Who is to be shot? When the tramp of the military is heard, and grape and canister are sweeping four streets at a time, as is contemplated by this new-fangled drill which was so graphically described in the capitalistic paper which gave an account of it, it is certainly not for the purpose of shooting down the *bourgeoisie*, the wealthy, because this same press makes a stirring appeal to them to contribute liberally to a military fund to put them on a good footing and make the militia twice as strong as it is at present, because their services would soon be needed to shoot down the mob.' The speaker then read an extract from a capitalistic account of the street-riot drill on Thanksgiving day." * * *

(Continued next week.)

IN DARKEST TOKIO.

Slums of Mikado's Capital, in Which 500,000 Poor Live in Abject Squalor.

It is strange to picture Tokio, the capital of the mikado, in the clutches of a mob. From the day the war began the world has been fed with stories of the patient endurance of a simple, law-respecting people, who loved their emperor and who submitted to his every word, says a recent writer.

The cable dispatches now reveal Tokio in a new light. They lift the curtain on a new and strange Tokio—a Tokio that the world has not suspected.

It is well that the truth is known. In no capital of the world does the plummet sound deeper in the ocean of poverty, wretchedness and human woe than in Tokio. London with its "submerged tenth"—Paris, with its sewers peopled with vicious, half-fed humanity—the groveling Russians of Gorky's night refuges—fail to equal the absolute wretchedness of the slums of Tokio, where live half a million or more of the starved subjects of the son of heaven—too poor to own even the rags they wear.

In Tokio not fewer than 200,000 people seldom, if ever, know of a certainty where the necessities of the next day will come from, and throughout the land the great majority are too poor to eat rice. The high grade grown in the islands is exported almost to the last sack, and inferior rice imported for those who can afford it. Rice is not in every bowl, as the tourists fondly imagine. A recent visitor to Tokio writes:

"I have spent days and nights in the midst of this inexpressible residue of Japan in company with a brilliant native sociologist, who, like scores of his fellow students of men and things, believes that Japan has left its good days of general happiness and general comfort forever behind, and is entering upon a sordid and merciless age of industrialism, in which its people are not fitted by temperament to compete, and whose proletariat is, moreover, far too intelligent and too proud to be exploited by capital. He is crying out a warning to Japan that her seat at the council table of the powers is being paid for in blood if her citizens, not expended as they would pour it forth cheerfully in war, but in factory and on farm, in shop and in office.

"'Think for a moment,' he cried last week, as we looked at a Japanese battleship in the offing, 'what a multitude of our tiny rice fields it takes to support such a monster, and then remember that our people can't afford to eat rice!'

"But whether the last state of Japan be worse than her first, let us proceed to Darkest Tokio. We will visit the Shitaya quarter, which is close by the beautiful Uyeno park.

"Tokio is so vast, it is such an immense sea of sheds, that from the highest point, on the clearest day, one can see but a fraction of its area—but here are fifteen districts of mean streets. The crazy structures called houses, which are in reality sheds, are strung along in a series of dilapidated and filthy compartments. To folk as poor as those who live here, cleanliness, so dear to the average Japanese that it is above godliness, is out of the question.

"The walls are decayed and full of crevices and cracks, and roofs leak, and there is moss and broken tiles, the shoji are full of holes or patched with newspapers, the mats are ragged, dirty and moldy. There is foul water in the streets, and a still fouler stench in the air, whose source is often visible to the eye. Frequently one sees dead rats in the roadway, but for fear of the plague they are quickly made away with. After coming from the daintiness and delightful artistry of well-to-do Tokio, Shitaya is the abomination of desolation.

"The most tumble-down of these abodes may be rented for from 40 cents to 50 cents yer month, but there are houses so fine that they cost as high as two cents, or even four cents, a day. To afford one of these expensive residences several families club together, not alone for economy, but also for warmth in winter, all hands crowding together on the mats. Charcoal is not always to be afforded, and heat is a great luxury these cold days. A whole block will sometimes take turns in warming hands at a hibachi, wherein a few chunks of charcoal smolder in a bed of ashes.

"Suppose a pipe-cleaner has had a good day, and returns to his home with, say, 12 cents. He will expend this in farthing purchases of miso, a kind of soup stock, oil, fuel, tobacco, and, perhaps, a little fish, which, if he feels reckless, he will eat raw with horseradish. He buys in driblets, and, like the poor in all cities of the world, pays enormous prices. This has been a good day, and perhaps he will peep in at one of the tempting cake shops, which smell so fragrant to the weary and hopeless. However, he will be, in all likelihood, 'broke' by this time, and will content himself with listening to a story teller relating the ancient glories of Dai Nippen.

"Had our pipe-cleaner returned empty-handed he would have hurried to the pawnbroker, always near at hand, and raised a few farthings on his precious brass pipe, his hibachi, or his few poor garments not in actual use. With the money he would have purchased fish entrails, or the offal of horses used for food, and perhaps a handful of scraps from a garbage barrel. With these he would have feasted with his family and with them prayed that the gods would give him a better day tomorrow, so that he might reclaim his goods.

"The pawnbrokers fatten on these wretches as in no other land. It is impossible to escape them, and they never relent: Anything that costs about ten cents can be pawned.

The English Trades Union Congress, at its session, defeated a resolution in favor of compulsory arbitration by a majority of 92,000.

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DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ADOPTED BY THE ANARCHISTS' CONGRESS, HELD IN PITTSBURG, PA.

To the Workingmen of America.

Fellow-Workmen: The Declaration of Independence says:

"* * * But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them (the people) under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such Government and provide new guards for their future security."

This thought of Thomas Jefferson was the justification for armed resistance by our forefathers, which gave birth to our Republic, and do not the necessities of our present time compel us to reassert their declaration?

Fellow-workmen, we ask you to give us your attention for a few moments. We ask you to candidly read the following manifesto issued in your behalf; in behalf of your wives and children; in behalf of humanity and progress.

Our present society is founded on the exploitation of the propertyless by the propertied. The exploitation is such that the propertied (capitalist) buy the working force, body and soul, of the propertyless, for the price of the mere cost of existence (wages), and take for themselves (i. e., steal) the amount of new values (products) which exceeds the price, whereby wages are made to represent the necessities instead of the earnings of the wage-laborer.

As the non-possessing classes are forced by their poverty to offer for sale to the propertied their working forces, and as our present production on a grand scale enforces technical development with immense rapidity, so that by the application of an always decreasing number of human working force an always increasing amount of products is created, so does the supply of working force increase constantly, while the demand therefore decreases. This is the reason why the workers compete more and more intensely in selling themselves, causing their wages to sink, or at least on the average never raising them above the margin necessary for keeping intact their working ability.

Whilst by this process the propertyless are entirely debarred from entering the ranks of the propertied, even by the most strenuous exertions, the propertied, by means of the ever-increasing plundering of the working class, are becoming richer day by day, without in any way being themselves productive.

If now and then one of the propertyless class become rich it is not by their own labor, but from opportunities which they have to speculate upon and absorb the labor product of others.

With the accumulation of individual wealth the greed and power of the propertied grows. They use all the means for competing among themselves for the robbery of the people. In this struggle generally the less-propertied (middle class) are overcome, while the great capitalists, par excellence, swell their wealth enormously, concentrate entire branches of production, as well as trade and inter-communication, into their hands, and develop into monopolies. The increase of products, accompanied by simultaneous decrease of the average income of the working mass of the people, leads to so-called "business" and "commercial" crises, when the misery of the wage-workers is forced to the extreme.

For illustration: The last census of the United States shows that after deducting the cost of raw material, interest, rents, risks, etc., the propertied class have absorbed—i. e., stolen—more than five-eighths of all products, leaving scarcely three-eighths to the producers. The propertied class being scarcely one-tenth of our population, and in spite of their luxury and extravagance, are unable to consume their enormous "profits," and the presumption is unable to consume more than they receive—three-eighths —so-called "overproductions" must necessarily take place. The terrible results of panics are well known.

The increasing eradication of working forces from the productive process annually increases the percentage of the propertyless population, which becomes pauperized and is driven to "crime," vagabondage, prostitution, suicide, starvation, and general depravity. This system is unjust, insane, and murderous. It is, therefore, necessary to totally destroy it with and by all means, and with the greatest energy on the part of every one who suffers by it and who does not want to be made culpable for its continued existence by his inactivity.

Agitation for the purpose of organization; organization for the purpose of rebellion. In these few words the ways are marked which the workers must take if they want to be rid of their chains. As the economic condition is the same in all countries of so-called "civilization;" as the Governments of all Monarchies and Republics work hand in hand for the purpose of opposing all movements of the thinking part of the workers; as, finally, the victory in the decisive combat of the proletarians against their oppressors can only be gained by the simultaneous struggle along the whole line of the bourgeois (capitalistic) society—so, therefore, the international fraternity of people as expressed in the International Working People's Association presents itself a self-evident necessity.

True order should take its place. This can only be achieved when all implements of labor, the soil and other premises of production—in short, capital produced by labor—is changed into societary property. Only by this presupposition is destroyed every possibility of the future spoliation of man by man. Only by common, undivided capital can all be enabled to enjoy in their fullness the fruits of the common toil. Only by the impossibility of accumulating individual (private) capital can everyone be compelled to work who makes a demand to live.

This order of things allows production to regulate itself according to the demand of the whole people, so that nobody need work more than a few hours a day, and that all nevertheless can supply their needs. Hereby time and opportunity are given for opening to the people the way to the highest possible civilization; the privileges of higher intelligence fall with the privileges of wealth and birth. To the achievement of such a system the political organizations of the capitalistic classes—be they Monarchies or Republics—form the barriers. These political structures (States), which are completely in the hands of the propertied, have no other purpose than the upholding of the present disorder of exploitation.

All laws are directed against the working people. In so far as the opposite appears to be the case, they serve on one hand to blind the worker, while on the other hand they are simply evaded. Even the school serves only the purpose of furnishing the offspring of the wealthy with those qualities necessary to uphold their class domination. The children of the poor get scarcely a formal elementary training, and this, too, is mainly directed so such branches as tend to producing prejudices, arrogance, and servility; in short, want of sense. The capitalistic press, on the other hand, takes care of the confusion of spirits in public life. All those institutions, from aiding in the education of the masses, have for their object the keeping in ignorance of the people. They are all in the pay and under the direction of the capitalistic classes. The workers can therefore expect no help from any capitalistic party in their struggle against the existing system. They must achieve their liberation by their own efforts. As in former times a privileged class never surrendered its tyranny, neither can it be expected that the capitalists of this age will give up their rulership without being forced to do it.

If there ever could have been any question on this point it should long ago have been dispelled by the brutalities which the bourgeois of all countries—in America as well as in Europe—constantly commit, as often as the proletariat anywhere energetically move to better their condition. It becomes, therefore, self-evident that the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeois will be of a violent revolutionary character.

We could show by scores of illustrations that all attempts in the past to reform this monstrous system by peaceable means, such as the ballot, have been futile, and all such efforts in the future must necessarily be so, for the following reasons:

The political institutions of our time are the agencies of the propertied class; their mission is the upholding of the privileges of their masters; any reform in your own behalf would curtail these privileges. To this they will not and cannot consent, for it would be suicidal to themselves.

That they will not resign their privileges voluntarily we know; that they will not make any concessions to us we likewise know. Since we must then rely upon the kindness of our master for whatever redress we have, and knowing that from them no good may be expected, there remains but one recourse—force! Our forefathers have not only told us that against despots force is justifiable, because it is the only means, but they themselves have set the immemorial example.

By force our ancestors liberated themselves from political oppression, by force their children will have to liberate themselves from economic bondage. "It is, therefore, your right, it is your duty," says Jefferson, "to arm!"

What we would achieve is, therefore, plainly and simply:

First—Destruction of the existing class rule by all meaps—i. e., by energetic, relentless, revolutionary, and international action.

Second—Establishment of a free society based upon co-operative organization of production.

Third—Free exchange of equivalent products by and between the productive organizations without commerce and profit-mongery.

Fourth—Organization of education on a secular, scientific, and equal basis for both sexes.

Fifth—Equal rights for all, without distinction to sex or race.

Sixth—Regulation of all public affairs by free contracts between the autonomous (independent) Communes and associations, resting on a federalistic basis.

Whoever agrees with this idea let him grasp our outstretched brother-hands!

Proletarians from all countries, unite!

Fellow-workmen, all we need for the achievement of this great end is organization and unity.

The day has come for solidarity! Join our ranks! Let the drum beat defiantly the roll of battle: "Workmen of all countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have the world to win!"

Issued by the Pittsburg Congress of the International Working Peoples' Association, on October 16, 1883.

CORRESPONDENCE

MIDALE, SASK., CANADA,
Jan. 22, 1906.

TO THE READERS OF THE LIBERATOR:—

From statements now and then made by the editor, I understand some of our comrades (and perhaps readers too) do not support our LIBERATOR financially or otherwise as they certainly ought from duty to do. But, on the other hand it seems to me that even a few who call themselves Anarchists are at work, trying their best to ruin the existence of THE LIBERATOR. I intend to devote my article today upon these little unpleasant matters, and expect to get after their scalps in the same manner as an ex-sheriff acquaintance of mine used to say. That is, "skin to a finish," but, nevertheless, it is a principle of mine to be fair toward an opponent. Regarding both sides of the controversy, I believe it was doubtless true that it did not appear on the face of returns that an Anarchist paper would receive sufficient support to warrant publishing it at Chicago. And certainly a paper can be published cheaper at Home, Washington, than Chicago, because expenses are so much less; hence this opinion was correct, if we were to publish an Anarchist paper for the fun of or to amuse ourselves. The fact, however, as I understand the matter, the intention was to publish an Anarchist journal in Chicago for the purpose of having a strong, radical paper for propaganda and an agitation medium among English speaking people; and that Chicago is the most central place for a propaganda paper to be published.

This fact was touched upon in the circular issued regarding the paper. This being the case, the tactics adopted against THE LIBERATOR, and its editor, Comrade Lucy E. Parsons, seem to me much like the dirty work and business of genuine political rascals, who are trying to break up the whole movement by trying to make it appear and get us subscribers to believe it cannot exist in Chicago on account of insufficient financial support.

This reminds me of a lecture I once heard. I believe it was in June, 1899, in South Dakota, when I attended a picnic at which W. J. Bryan lectured upon "Democratic Political Issues," and the so-called political issue, "Imperialism." Among many of his arguments (as near as I can remember) he said: "Being a democrat myself, I do not by any means care to argue the principles of democracy with democrats nearly so much as I do with republicans. Because if I am right, and I truly believe I am, I may thereby have a good opportunity to convert the republicans to democracy. If opposite, and the republican believes I am wrong, then logically he will have an equal opportunity of converting me to republicanism."

This argument, of course, holds good with any kind of agitation and propaganda—press, literature and lectures included.

The mission and issues for Anarchists, logically, is trying to convince all—republicans, democrats, freethinkers and church members—to the grand ideas of Anarchism.

"Anarchism is certainly something grand—if it only could be practiced", is the expression we hear quite often from thoughtful persons.

Now then, it is for the purpose of trying to convince the people that this great and grand idea of Anarchism can be practiced sometime in the near future, at least, that we Anarchists publish such radical papers as THE LIBERATOR.

Chicago, to my mind, is from all points of view the most proper place for publishing a good Anarchist paper in the English language. This being the case, we should all join in the support of THE LIBERATOR.

Chicago is also the city in which five of our noble comrades gave their lives for the grand ideas of Anarchism. We should also bear in mind our martyred comrade, Albert R. Parsons, when he said a few days before that Friday: "Have I one more wish? Oh, yes, I have more than one. Never tire in advocating our high principles in the warfare between cowardice and tyranny; never cease until the American people know why we were murdered." * * *

Now, think of Comrade Lucy E. Parsons, and how she, after nineteen years still with great energy and sacrifice responding accordingly to her husband's wish, and then consider for yourselves if it is an honorable act on your part to try to hinder her in her faithful work and noble efforts of trying to publish THE LIBERATOR with its interesting reading matter. For my own part, I feel much elated, that our comrade was chosen editor of our English propaganda paper.

Will you, comrades and readers of THE LIBERATOR, join in contributing quite a nice sum for the support of our paper, and thus insure its continued existence?

E. N. LING.

TACOMA, WASH., Jan. 23.

I am pleased to tell the comrades that here in Tacoma we celebrated "Red Sunday" in a very creditable manner. The S. L. P. I. W. W. and S. L. locals were the initiators of the mass meeting. Through the efforts of my friends and comrades, a committee was appointed to visit the "Trades Council" which promised co-operation. N. J. Burns, president of the Trades Council, officiated as chairman of the meeting. Upon me devolved the task of telling about conditions in Russia.

Mrs. Irene M. Smith, W. Cotton and E. Bott spoke from the S. P. Comrade Harmon spoke in behalf of S. L. P. platform.

The literature sold and distributed was of socialistic patronage. Old comrades feel like activity again and we will start a "debating club" at the end if Mrs. Irene M. Smith's lectures, at the end of February.

We collected $23 for the benefit of the Russian comrades.

If "organized labor" and the socialist factions can keep up the present harmony of "class consciousness", the Anarchist "corporal guard" will stand and fight with them side by side for the emancipation of wage slavery and for the triumph of Industrial Unionism, which is our common expectation.

A. KLEMENIC.

A DANGER SIGNAL FOR LABOR UNIONS.

An article in the January Philistine, evidently intended to advertise a strike-breaking bureau of Cleveland, should be read in open meeting repeatedly in every trade union in the country. For, in order to make known to employers the services which this despicable bureau offers them, the eidtor of the Philistine has ex posed the treacherous nature of the bureau's business. Its work consists in maintaining spies in labor unions. According to the Philistine's puff, these spies are there for the purpose of keeping employers posted on union purposes and plans; but there is reason to believe, rfom the development of recent prosecutions of labor union members in Chicago, that they may be there for less lawful purposes. At any rate, the Philistine's article should receive immediate attention from labor organizations. If the puff isn ot overdone, no labor union can be sure that it is not equipped with spies from this enterprising bureau. The worst of the matter is that men who will consent to serve in such a way, may not be above manufacturing evidence and concocting conspiracies for the undoing of law-abiding union men. That they are not, may possibly be inferred from a recent unanimous decision of the appellate court (opinion by Judge Brown), which reverses a conviction of labor unionists for conspiracy, on the ground of the dubiousness of the spy evidence.—*The Public.*

* * *

In connection with "manufacturing evidence' 'and "concocting conspiracies" we call the readers' special attention to Albert R. Parsons' speech in this paper and learn what the capitalist class did to get rid of trouble with some leaders in 1887. Are the capitalists getting ready to have "history repeat itself"?

Contentment is a virtue, but too much of it is not so good. How can we advance up the ladder if we are perfectly satisfied with the lower or middle rounds?

ANNOUNCEMENTS

SOCIAL AND BALL.

Don't forget to attend the social and ball given by The Liberator Group Saturday, Feb. 3, in Star Lit Hall, Solon Place and 14th St. An enjoyable time is assured. This is not the "necktie party," however. That is going to be a specially **grand event.** The girls are going to supply all the boys with nice **new Easter neckties,** so we want it to be a little nearer Easter. Don't buy your spring ties. The Liberator is going to furnish them.

Liberator Group Lectures.

A course of lectures arranged by the Liberator Group, every Sunday afternoon at 3 p. m. sharp at Pritikin's Hall, Halsted & Maxwell Sts. Sunday, Jan. 28.—Lecture in Jewish. Feb. 4.—Lucy E. Parsons will lecture. Subject, "Child Labor." All invited. Discussion after each lecture.

Special Meeting.

Liberty Group, San Francisco, meets Saturday, Feb. 3, 417 Post Street. All comrades are invited.

The Progressive Library, 106 Forsyth St., New York City.

The best radical literature in all modern languages, free to read. Reading room open from 11 a. m. to 11 p. m. every day in the year. The Progressive Library Group meets every Monday, and has free discussions every Thursday evening, English lectures every Sunday afternoon and Jewish lectures every Sunday evening. The lectures are accompanied by a musical entertainment.

Liberator Group, New York.

The Liberator Group of New York meets every first and third Sunday of the month at 415 Grand St., first floor, at 8 p. m. sharp.

Those interested in the English propaganda are earnestly requested to come to our meetings.

Grand Social and Ball!

Grand Social and Ball will be given by the Liberator Group on Feb. 3rd in Star Lit Hall, corner Solon Place and 14th St. Come out and have a fine time. Beautiful hall and fine music, etc.

Social on February 3.

Don't forget our social and dance in Sun Lit Hall, Solon Place and 14th St. Saturday, February 3. It is going to be a fine time.

ROLL CALL.

Mrs. Loomis	$ 1.00
C. Zapler	.50
Albert Wickerman	1.00
C. McFarland	1.00
T. Ring	.50
Peter Hall	.25
Ben Terk	1.00
McAndrew	1.00
Chicago Comrades	.55
Bakers Union	2.00
Ernst Obermayer	1.00
G. B. Davis	.25
A. N. Andersen	.50
James Ongle	1.00
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Wenzel Grisner	1.00
Saginaw, Mich., by Henry Coletti	1.80
G. Sporlani	1.00
Wm. S. Ormond	.50
San Francisco Group, by A. Wilbers	5.00
M. Silverberg	1.00
W. S. Kelly	1.00
Final Statement of New Year's Social	8.75
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Bers	.50
Ingals	.25
Anna Marcus	.25
Oswald Kaden	1.00
Carpenters Union No. 1	5.00
Morris Greeberg	1.00
New York Progressive Library	2.30

Trades unions have done more to elevate the social, intellectual and moral standard of the workers than all the other factors in society combined.

BOOKS

We request our readers to read carefully our book list, and if there are any books which you care for, just order from Liberator and they will be forwarded at once. Remember the price of the book and postage must be sent with each order. The books and pamphlets that we list can all be relied upon as standard works of real educational value. We will add to our list from time to time until we have a most compiete list of standard works. By ordering from us you will be assisting in the continuation of The Liberator.

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Farmington.

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The book is very charming, and in much very true. Not a man who has been a real country boy, or who has been cheated by his elders (always with the best motives) of being all the boy he might have been, but, if he has grown up to be ripe enough, will seem to find himself again in many of Mr. Darrow's pages. Our impression is that Mr. Darrow has shown real art in the handling of one of the most difficult forms of literature.—The New York Times Saturday Review.

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